## Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----052686 271255Z /41

O R 270955Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2425
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
USNMR SHAPE
USMISSION USNATO

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 4744

EXDIS -- MILITARY ADDRESSEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOR SECRETARY, ALSO FOR GENERAL HAIG FROM AMBASSADOR SPIERS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: NATO, PEPR, GR, TU

SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO -- U.S. APPROACHES

REF: A) STATE 161694 (250339Z JUN 78), B) SHAPE 2182 (161010Z JUN 78), C) STATE 144648 (072244Z JUN 78, D) STATE 162536 (262316Z JUN 78)

- 1. I WILL REQUEST AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER AND/OR FOREIGN MINISTER TOWARDS THE END OF THIS WEEK TO CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS IN REFTELS D AND A.
- 2. IN CONNECTION WITH REFTEL A (GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO) I WOULD APPRECIATE SOME FURTHER CLARIFICATION BEFORE PUTTING SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO ECEVIT. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SUGGEST TWO MODIFICATIONS TO ENHANCE PROSPECTS OF A POSITIVE TURKISH REACTION, WHICH I BELIEVE WOULD BE PRACTICALLY NIL OTHERWISE. (ECEVIT'S MILITARY ADVISORS HAVE ALREADY TURNED GREEK COMMAND PROPOSALS DOWN FLAT (REF B) SECRET

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AND OTHER HARD-LINERS, INCLUDING THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION, WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ECEVIT TO AGREE TO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS THAT WOULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS COMPLETE AND UNCOMPENSATED CAPITULATION TO LONG HELD GREEK POSITIONS ON ATHENS FIR AND AEGEAN TERRITORIAL WATERS/CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUES).

3. WHILE THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS MAY HAVE BEEN ADDRESSED DURING GENERAL HAIG'S DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL DAVOS, THE TURKS ARE LIKELY TO HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN TWO PRINCIPAL AREAS OF COMMAND RESPONSIBILITIES:

A. FROM INFORMATION AVAILABLE HERE, WE ASSUME THAT THE NEW NATO GREEK AIR COMMAND IN LARISSA WILL BE GIVEN AIR DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE AEGEAN COTERMINOUS WITH THE ATENS FIR. THIS WOULD NOT, AS REFTEL A IMPLIES, BE A RETURN TO SITUATION PREVAILING IN 1974, WHEN AREA WAS CONTROLLED BY 6TH ATAF IN IZMIR. IF THIS IS NOT TO BE THE CASE DURING AN INTERIM PERIOD (I.E., PENDING GREEK-TURK AGREEMENT ON AEGEAN ISSUES), WILL SIXATAF (WHICH WILL BE COMMANDED BY A TURK) RETAIN AIR DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL ALLIED AIR EXERCISES FOR THE REGION? ULTIMATELY, TURKS ARE UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO ANY ARRANGEMENT THAT APPEARS TO SOLIDIFY GREEK CLAIMS TO AIR SPACE OVER THE WHOLE OF THE ATHENS FIR.

B. REGARDING THE DELINEATION OF MARITIME RESPONSIBILITIES THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO 1974, WILL THE GREEKS ACCEPT THE NAVAL TASK FORCE CONCEPT, OR WILL COMEDEAST (A GREEK) BE RECOGNIZED AS CONTROLLING ALL NATO NAVAL ACTIVITIES IN THE AEGEAN? DOES GREECE AGREE TO REJOIN THE NAVAL ON CALL FORCE MEDITERRANEAN, ACCEPTING A TURKISH COMMANDER UNDER THE ROTATIONAL SCHEME THAT PREVAILED BEFORE 1974?

C. ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL, WE ASSUME THAT GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS OUTLINED IN REF A SECRET

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MEANS THAT THE GOG HAS NOW DELINKED NATO REINTEGRATION FROM SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM (PARA 10, REF C). IF THIS IS INDEED THE CASE, I SHOULD TELL THIS EXPLICITLY TO ECEVIT FOR IT SHOULD BE A PERSUASIVE ARGUMENT. NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WOULD THEN BE THE ONLY FACTOR BLOCKING GREEK REINTEGRATION. IF IT IS NOT THE CASE, THIS WILL DIMINISH CHANCES FOR TURKISH AGREEMENT.

4. IN VIEW OF TURKISH CONVICTION, REPEATEDLY MENTIONED
TO ME BY ECEVIT, THAT PRIOR NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS (WHICH
WOULD NOW, IF OUR ASSUMPTION IS CORRECT, GIVE AEGEAN AIR COMMAND
TO GREEKS) WERE MISUSED BY GREEKS TO BUTTRESS THEIR PURELY
UNILATERAL NATIONAL CLAIMS TO AEGEAN SEA AND AIR SPACE, I
BELIEVE IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT I BE ABLE TO TELL ECEVIT
THAT CARAMANLIS WOULD BE PREPARED TO STATE PUBLICLY THAT
THESE NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS ARE "POLITICALLY NEUTRAL"
AND WOULD NOT BE CITED IN FUTURE GREEK/TURKISH BILATERAL
NEGOTIATIONS ON AEGEAN ISSUES AS CONSTITUTING A PRECEDENT
OR SO REGARDED BY GOG. FURTHER, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF
CARAMANLIS WOULD ADD THAT GREEKS ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE
EARNESTLY ON THIS ISSUE BEGINNING WITH MEETING OF GREEKTURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARY GENERALS ON JULY 4.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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O R 270955Z JUN 78 FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2426 INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY NICOSIA USNMR SHAPE USMISSION USNATO

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EXDIS -- MILITARY ADDRESSEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

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- 5. IF THE NATO/GREEK AIR COMMAND'S RESPONSIBILITIES ARE TO ENCOMPASS THE ENTIRE ATHENS FIR, LEAVING SIXATAF ESSENTIALLY WITH THE ANATOLIAN LAND MASS AND ITS LITTORAL, DISAGREEMENT WILL CONTINUE OVER AIR TRANSIT NOTIFICATION ZONES FOR BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD AT MINIMUM ASK GREEKS TO AGREE, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS, TO RECOGNIZE NOTAM 714 LINE AS ESTABLISHING A "SPECIAL NOTIFICATION ZONE" FOR ALL FLIGHTS PROCEEDING EASTWARD. GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF THIS WOULD BE BALANCED BY AN ECEVIT STATEMENT OF "POLITICAL NEUTRALITY" OF THIS GREEK CONCESSION TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS REGIME IS ACCEPTED ON AN "WITHOUT PREJUDICE" BASIS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL IN THE REGION.
- 6. I FEAR THAT WITHOUT THE MINIMUM OF THESE TWO ADDITIONS THE CHANCE OF FAVORABLE TURKISH REACTION TO A STEP THEY WOULD SEE AS "REWARDING" GREEKS WITH A CONCESSION WHICH WOULD BE USED IN A MANNER FUNDAMENTALLY PREJUDICIAL TO TURKISH INTERESTS IN THE AEGEAN AND AT A TIME THEY BELIEVE SECRET

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ACTIVE AND HOSTILE GREEK OPPOSITION IS PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO RAISING EMBARGO, IS EFFECTIVELY NON-EXISTENT. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT WITH THE MODIFICATIONS SUGGESTED THERE COULD BE A CHANCE OF ELICITING A POSITIVE TURKISH RESPONSE, ALTHOUGH THIS MIGHT TAKE THE FORM OF PRIVATE ASSURANCES WE COULD TRANSMIT TO GREECE OF GOT ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS PRIOR TO ACTION ON THE EMBARGO. I DO NOT REGARD IT LIELY THAT TURKS WOULD BE WILLING OR POLITICALLY ABLE TO MAKE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT PRIOR TO EMBARGO'S FULL REPEAL.

ACTION REQUESTED: ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS IN PARA 3 ABOVE AND APPROVAL OF MODIFICATIONS DESCRIBED IN PARAS 4 AND 5. SPIERS

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: DEMARCHE, MEMBERSHIP, REGIONAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 27 jun 1978 Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ANKARA04744
Document Source: CORE

**Document Unique ID: 00** Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: X1 Errors: N/A

**Expiration:** Film Number: D780266-0048 Format: TEL

From: ANKARA **Handling Restrictions:** 

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780618/aaaaaozz.tel

Line Count: 184 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2e31667f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION SS

Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS Reference: 78 STATE 161694

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 26 apr 2005 Review Event: Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** 

Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 2200441 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO -- U.S. APPROACHES

TAGS: PEPR, GR, TU, US, NATO

To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/2e31667f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014